/29 cont'd/

439 Their trade with the Chinese is carried on both by barter and by
436 the use of corns. When they exchange rice for goods with the
Chinese it is the latter kind of trade; when they use money to buy
things, it is the former. (In 1935, when silver was nationalized by
the Chinese government, paper currency replaced silver coins through-
out the country. But the Li and the Miao refused to accept the
paper currency, and their medium of exchange continued to be sil-
ver or brass coins.) The trade between the Miao and the Chinese is
[71] exactly the same as that between the Chinese and the Li. In my
book, Report on an Investigation of the Li of Hainan Island, I have
described in detail the kinds of commodities traded between the
Chinese and the Li and the prices of each, so that it is unnecessary
439 to repeat them here. The Miao export such things as rice, grain,
cotton, edible tree fungi, and hides, but only on a small scale.
Occasionally, there are also a few relatively well-to-do persons who
own one or more small hillsides which produce lumber and rattan.
They hire several workers to work the year round to cut lumber and
split rattan, and raise a few oxen for transporting them downhill to
the Chinese markets. This lumbering enterprise is very profitable.
313 Among the wealthy owners is Lu Tsun-ying, the Miao headman of
554 Ang-chi village in Ta-ch'i. Although he owns only a meager
amount of property, he is considered one of the few comparatively
wealthy people among the Miao, but he is not to be compared with
the big landowners among the Li.

/30/ Chapter IV. Social Organization

1. The Family

592 The family is the basic unit of Miao social organization, with
594 both large families and small families existing at the same time.
596 A "large family" is a family of three generations or more living
together. Two generations or more living separately is a "small
family." When a comparison is made, however, the large family

675 /38 cont'd/
539 This contract is signed in public on the fifteenth day of the
423 second month of the twenty-sixth year of Kuang-hsü, the year of Keng-tze /1900/."

"Again: On the preceding day, the Miao people signed an agreement to pay 270 silver dollars for the mountain land of Mao-kai Mountain. This contract is signed on the seventh day of the first month of the sixteenth year of the Republic /1927/."

---

675 /39/ "The rent of Mt. Mao-jui shall be roughly one peck of
423 rice, 350 cash, one jar of wine, and one chicken, to be collected
427 every year."
436

"Wang Kung-ch'ing

427 A new contract has been signed in the year ting-mao of the
675 Republic /1927/; every family is to pay four dollars in the spring of every year. The expenses for tao-ping /commission?/ shall be 305 cash from each family; the expenses for shih-sheng /?/, 100 cash; one chicken, one peck of rice, and one jar of wine from each family.

Black beans, edible fungi, and other mountain products are all included."

The above are contracts for renting mountains.

---

423 "Again: The lands of Mt. Mao-jui have been purchased from
675 the sellers Li Yüng-sheng, Li Yüng-sheng /sic/, and Mei Ch'ang-sheng. Mt. Mao-jui has been purchased in the twenty-second year of Kuang-hsü /1896/. The price agreed upon is 100 large silver dollars."

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

more restricted in distribution. All other names apply to sub-groups. 563

These often seem to be rather in the nature of nicknames and may suggest the kind of country in which they live — Hei Shan Miao (Black Miao of the mountains), Kao-p'o Miao (Miao of the highlands, Pa or P'ing-ti Miao (Miao of the level land), Tung Miao (Cave Miao); the name of the region which they live — Ch'e-sai Miao (Miao of the chariot-stockade), Shui-ch'i Miao (Miao of Shui-ch'i, the old name of a district); the color of their clothing — Ya-ch'iao Miao (Magpie Miao, whose garments are dark blue and white); some peculiarity of dress, decoration, or ornament — Ch'ang-ch'un and Tuan-ch'un Hei Miao (Long- and Short-skirted Black Miao), Ta Hua and Hsiao Hua Miao (those who embroider large or small designs on their clothes), Kou-er Nung-chia (Dog-eared farmers), Ma-ch'an Nung-chia (Horse saddleflap farmers), Hsien-ting Miao (Sharp-crowned Miao), Chen-t'ou Miao (Pillow Miao), and Ku-tung Miao (all these names refer to the type of headdress), Hai-p'a Miao (Miao who wear cowrie shells); their means of livelihood — Sa Miao (Miao who sell shrimps); some peculiar custom — Hsi-ku Miao (Miao who disinter and wash the bones of their dead), Nü-kuan Miao (Miao with female rulers); and so on. It is by the dress of the women that one may distinguish between tribes, for most of the men have adopted Chinese costume. Of course they do not use these nicknames in referring to themselves. In fact, they resent the name Miao, which means "sprouts"; that is, the natives, indigenous people, or barbarians. 101

Altogether it is estimated that fully forty per cent and possibly one-half of the population of the province is non-Chinese.

Cowrie Shells. Cowrie shells have played and still do play various roles in China. From very ancient times they have been used as money. With regard to the character "pei" (貝), Wieger[7] quotes a Chinese phrase which may be translated, "an animal from the sea, representation, in ancient times money and precious shell; from the Chou until the Ch'in Dynasty they used cowries in trade." Marco 301 436

[76]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

301 436 Polo refers to them in this capacity in his description of the journey he took into the southwest of China on behalf of the Great Khan. The I-shu (異琉) says, "Yünnan people call the pei 'hai p'a,' p'a being the shell of the animal."[8] There are in the Museum at West China Union University at Ch'engtu metal objects made to represent cowries and once used as money. Hai-p'a (Cowrie Shell) Miao girls also wear ornaments of silver in the form of cowrie shells.

787 Another character, "cheng" (貞), has been interpreted as the fee paid to one who examines the markings on a shell. It might also be thought of as divination by means of cowrie shells. Among the Mo-so of Yünnan cowries are still used for that purpose. A full account of this is given in an article by Dr. T'ao Yün-kuei in the *Anthropological Journal*.[9] There are in the Ch'engtu Museum a number of the Mo-so divination classics from the collection made by Dr. Joseph Rock.

301 Still another character, "fen" (貯), suggests for us by its composition of shells and plants a third use to which these shells are put among many peoples of Southwest China, ornamentation. I have seen an apron used by the Ch'uan Miao of southern Szechuan, the

as the Miao cook tastes something like steamed sawdust. In the lean weeks, before the spring harvest ripens, potatoes form the staple food of large numbers of the people. They can usually afford to have with their meals pounded rock salt purchased from the Chinese, but at times even this becomes a luxury; sometimes so scarce that people fortunate enough to buy it will lick it much as a Western child will lick a barley sugar stick. Being neither handicraftsmen, traders nor shopkeepers, the majority of the Miao are miserably poor. Their laws are those of the Chinese Government, and for money they use whatever is in currency amongst the Chinese. The old men of a neighbourhood are the rulers. One and all clothe themselves with homespun, and it is part of a woman's work to weave all the clothes necessary for herself, her husband and her children. This is no light task. The women have very much more work to do than men. They weave the clothes, carry the water, collect fire-wood, assist in the farm work and bear innumerable children, and so well do they manage this that a majority of the mothers are up and about the house a day after giving birth to a babe. Their clothing is distinct and different from Chinese dress. A man wears sandals, which he himself has made, short trousers reaching down to the knee, and a loose-fitting upper garment which is between a jacket and a gown. For head-dress he wears a turban made of a length of blue or white cloth. The women wear sandals, coloured puttees, and, scorning to wear trousers as Chinese women do,

8: Graham E-5 (1921-1936) 1937 AE5 Miao AE5

804 The Ch'uan Miao are acquainted with and frequently use the Chinese system of measurements by which ten inches make one foot and ten feet are one *chang* 丈. But they have a variation of this system which is more commonly used by them. According to this method the distance between the first and the second joints of the middle finger is one inch. The stretch of the hand from the end of the thumb to the end of the middle finger is five inches and two of these are one foot. The arm stretch from the tip of one middle finger to the tip of the opposite middle finger is five feet and two of these are one *chang*. In some localities bamboo combs are used to measure cloth.

805 The method of reckoning time is that of the Chinese from whom it was evidently learned. A month is called a moon. There are twelve lunar months in one year and sometimes thirteen. Each month has thirty days and is divided into three periods of ten days each. Through the Chinese the Gregorian calendar is becoming known.

436 439 There are localities where the Ch'uan Miao barter a great deal because of the shortage of money, the differences being paid in cash. This is more common in northern Yunnan than in Szechwan where market-places and towns are more accessible. The Ch'uan Miao sell cattle, goats, sheep, horses, pigs, chickens, corn, rice, eggs and vegetables and purchase salt, cloth, silver ornaments, pottery and implements and tools made of iron.

352 The furniture corresponds to that in the Chinese homes. The most essential articles are the square tables and the long narrow four-legged stools called in Chinese *pan têng* 板凳. Chairs are to be found in the well-to-do homes. The cheaper kinds are made of bamboo but better chairs are made of wood by Chinese carpenters and carved with Chinese ornamental designs. A bedstead consists of a wooden frame and four legs of wood, covered with a mat of bamboo slats over which there is a layer of straw. A straw matting may or may not separate this from the bed clothing. Above the more elaborate beds are frames of wood or bamboo on which mosquito nets are hung. The stove may be a hole in the ground, which is said to be the oldest form, but it is generally like that of the Chinese, made of clay and stones or bricks, and with holes for one or more cooking vessels. The meat, rice and vegetables are cooked in the iron cooking vessel called in Chinese a *kuo* 鍋. There are usually tongs made of bamboo or of iron and small iron shovels, bamboo brushes and strainers. The lamps are usually simple, earthenware, cup-like bowls that can be hung up on posts or on the walls of the house, in which is burnt *ts'ai yu* 菜油 or rape seed oil.

[412] [373]

39: Bernatzik--569 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/424 cont./

439 has already been mentioned, obtain iron, metal pots and pans, flints, matches, sulphur needed for the making of gunpowder, salt, insofar as it is not purchased directly from the neighboring valley peoples, cowrie shells, buttons, cretonne, silk, small mirrors, thread, needles, and embroidery thread. Unfortunately, these traders also bring in fabrics whose importation is superfluous. Moreover, they sell the coveted magic articles and amulets and deal in children for adoption, or even women.

The traders make a profit of several hundredfold, since, [435] besides their not very pronounced commercial talent, the Meau lack the connection with the rest of the world needed for a proper evaluation of the worth of their wares.

Business with the traders, who scrupulously seek out village after village, takes place during the dry season, since [487] the mountain paths are impassable in the rainy season. A trade journey of the Haw therefore takes months. The wares desired by the Meau are carried by porters and pack animals up and down through the mountainous terrain and through the virgin forests. Barter, formerly the only type of trade, is still widely 437 practiced. In the first place there is the raw opium of the 439 Meau, and then stags' horns, the horns of the rhinoceros, and irovy. Rattan lianas, finished baskets, and field produce also serve as articles for barter, primarily the latter because the many porters of the traders need food.

436 Besides the traditional barter goods, a means of payment 437 used today is a range of kinds of money, and, to be sure, from those countries that have been traversed by the Meau. For the most part, the coins in circulation are those which officially represent the currency of the country in which the Meau happen to be living. Thus, in Burmese territory rupees are principally used, in Thailand ticals, in Indochina piasters, on Chinese territory the current Chinese standard; interestingly enough, besides these kinds of money, Russian coins are said to have been in circulation among the Meau in former times.